

## BACKGROUNDS TO HITTITE HISTORY

Some historical remarks on the  
proposed Luwian translations  
of the Phaistos Disc

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### *Introductory notes*

Although the history of the south-eastern parts of the Hittite Empire is relatively well-known due to the availability of contemporary Egyptian and other records, no general agreement exists among Hittitologists on the course of the history of its western parts. E. Forrer,<sup>1</sup> A. Goetze,<sup>2</sup> J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney,<sup>3</sup> J.G. Macqueen<sup>4</sup> and T.R. Bryce,<sup>5</sup> among others, have offered a political and geographical reconstruction of western Anatolia in Hittite times, but all arrive at different results due to their respective positions in the discussion of the Ahhijawa-problem.<sup>6</sup> For recent general literature on the occurrence of the country of Ahhijawa in Hittite texts I refer to the articles by Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate,<sup>7</sup> and S. Kořak<sup>8</sup> and to the summary by J.T. Hooker.<sup>9</sup> Few new Hittite material on the subject has been

1. *Forschungen I*, Berlin 1926.

2. *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasiens*, Munich 1957<sup>2</sup> (hereafter KA).

3. *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, London 1959.

4. *Geography and History in Western Asia Minor in the Second Millennium B.C.*, AS 18 (1968), 169-185.

5. *Some geographical and political Aspects of Mursilis' Arzawan Campaign*, AS 24 (1974), 103-116.

6. See also E. Forrer, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen I* (1930), 253. F. Sommer's linguistic doubts (*Die Ahhijawa-Urkunden*, Munich 1932, hereafter AU) have been very influential to later scholars. The Hittite Ahhijawa-material is presented in Appendix A below.

7. *Anatolian Evidence for relations with the West in the Late Bronze Age*, in: *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean*, London 1973, 141-153. This is the first article in which the Ahhijawa-material was related to the results of the re-dating (note 25, below).

8. *The Hittites and the Greeks*, *Linguistica* 20 (1980), 35-48.

9. J.T. Hooker, *Mycenaean Greece* (London 1976), 121-131.

offered since they wrote,<sup>10</sup> but some important objections among Hittitologists against the equation *Ahhijawa* = *Mycenaean Greece* have recently been rediscussed by H.G. Güterbock.<sup>11</sup>

The view expressed in this article is that *Ahhijawa* is equal to Mycenaean Greece from the late 14th century B.C. onwards. No definite "proof" of this equation is aimed at, however. As the Hittite texts themselves allow only general indications on the geographical position of *Ahhijawa*, we may only hope to refine conclusions from the Hittite material by making use of a multidisciplinary method, in which Linear B-palace records, orally delivered traditions and archaeology are combined to reconstruct Mycenaean "history".

This is not a new way to tackle the problem. T.B.L. Webster,<sup>12</sup> D.L. Page<sup>13</sup> and others, have applied this method to reconstruct the history of the eastern Mediterranean. Both authors have offered criteria to separate Mycenaean heritage in Greek Epic Poetry from later additions.

Until recently, contemporary Greek historical records were lacking. The Linear-B tablets from Knossos (ca. 1400 B.C.) and the Greek mainland (ca. 1200 B.C.) had no historical purpose. They can provide a source for geographical reconstructions, however, as the names of some Anatolian districts and towns seem to be reflected in personal and geographical names on the tablets.<sup>14</sup>

It therefore may be considered a major breakthrough in the reconstruction of Hittite history if the translations of the Phaistos Disc as proposed by J.G.P. Best<sup>15</sup> and F.C. Woudhuizen,<sup>16</sup> men-

10. KUB XL VIII 90 was added as an important fragment to the *Milawata*-letter (KUB XIX 55=AU ch. 3) by H.A. Hoffner, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft 19 (1982), 130-137.

11. *The Ahhiyawa-problem reconsidered*, *AJA* 87 (1983), 133-138. See also I. Singer, *Western Anatolia in the 13th Century B.C. according to Hittite sources*, *AS* 33 (1983), 205-217, opposing Sommer.

12. *From Mycenae to Homer*, London 1977.

13. *History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley 1959.

14. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, London 1973 give in their index for Knossos: *a-si-wi-ja/a-\*64-jo* (Assuwa), *to-ro* (Tros?), and for Pylos and Mycenae: *a-si-wi-ja/a-si-wi-jo/a-\*64-jo* (Assuwa), *to-ro-o/to-ro-ja* (Tros/Troia?), *mi-ra-ti-ja/mi-ra-ti-ja-o* (Miletus). Possible others are KN *ma-sa(-de)* (Masa), PY *mi-ra* (Mira) and *ru-ki-ja/ru-ki-jo* (Lukka).

15. *Freestanding, Prefixed and Suffixed Doublets and Triplets as Codebreakers of the Phaistos Disc*, *Ancient Scripts from Crete and Cyprus* (Leiden, New York, København, Köln 1988).

16. *Recovering the Language and the Contents of the Text on the Phaistos Disc*, *Ancient Scripts from Crete and Cyprus* (Leiden, New York, København, Köln 1988).

tioning (A)hiyawa<sup>17</sup> and "Assuwan Phaistos"<sup>18</sup> are correct. Not being a linguist myself, I can only judge the correctness of the translations from a historical point of view. I will therefore limit myself to those parts of the text upon which the translators have reached agreement and concentrate on the personal names *ni-is-ti/ná-as-tu* and *i-du-ma-na/i-tu-ma-na* and the geographical names *a-su-wi-ia/á-sú-wi-ya* and *ahi-ia-wa/hi-ya-wa*.

Best and Woudhuizen are of the opinion that the text of the Phaistos Disc is written in a Luwian dialect.<sup>19</sup> According to the try-out proposed by Best the text was made for and addressed to an overlord residing in *Ahi-ia-wa*. Woudhuizen argues that the overlord in *Hi-ya-wa* is meting out directives to Luwian vassal-princes in Crete. In both translations a wide range of titles is used, which suggests a centralized government and a bureaucratically layered society with much attention to differences in power and status. That there should be such a society is no great surprise. The Linear-B tablets also suggest a strongly bureaucratic society for both Knossos in ca. 1400 B.C. and Pylos in ca. 1200 B.C. and this type of society was customary in civilized nations in the second half of the 2nd Millennium.<sup>20</sup>

The personal names *ni-is-ti/ná-as-tu* and *i-du-ma-na/i-tu-ma-na*, the former residing in (A)hiyawa and the latter somewhere in Crete, have been read as Nestor and Idomeneus respectively. This is in accordance with the traditions, who mention Nestor as residing on the Greek mainland and Idomeneus as residing in Crete. A revaluation of the passages in Homer mentioning Idomeneus and Nestor or Nestor's son as acting together is given below.

The secondary addition of *u-ra* ("great") to *ni-is-ti/ná-as-tu*<sup>21</sup> suggests a rise in status for (A)hiyawa. The writer does not err elsewhere on the Disc when using titles and therefore *u-ra* is possibly added either out of compliment or on request of (A)hiyawa. A rise and fall in status appears in the Hittite Ahhijawa-texts as well. The ruler of Ahhijawa is called LÚ

17. A 3- 5: *u(-)ni-is-ti u(-) u-ra a-tu ahi-ia-wa* (Best)  
*u ná-as+ta u u-ra á-tu hi-ya-wa* (Woudhuizen).

18. B10-12: *is pa-ia-ta a-su-wi-ia ku-na-wa sarru* (Best)  
*as pa-ya-ta á-sú-wi-ya hù-na-wa SARI* (Woudhuizen).

19. Goetze, KA 50-53, gives several Luwian dialects in Hittite times.

20. Webster, op.cit., 7-26.

21. J.G.P. Best, *The significance of the Secondary Corrections on the Phaistos Disc*, appendix to Best & Woudhuizen (*supra*, note 15).

(man), LUGAL (king, literary "great man") and LUGAL GAL (Greatking) in various periods. The texts therefore allow the reconstruction of a "career" of Ahhijawa from a Hittite point of view.

### *Assuwa and A-su-wi-ia*

The mention of "the Assuwan Phaistos" contains a political notion and must refer to an Assuwa of some importance. In the Knossos-tablets an Assuwan goddess is mentioned, but ca. 1200 B.C. Assuwa had developed into a region where captive women came from. The name continued to be used for a part of Anatolia, developing into the name for the Roman province of Asia.<sup>22</sup> In Hittite texts the geo-political notion of Assuwa was used for a short period only.<sup>23</sup> It does not occur in texts of the Old Kingdom and appears first in the annals of Tuthalijas II,<sup>24</sup> now commonly dated shortly before 1400 B.C.<sup>25</sup>

The annals relate of a campaign in which Tuthalijas defeats "the entire country of Assuwa" and its allies.<sup>26</sup> The immediately preceding campaign against Arzawa,<sup>27</sup> the Seha-riverland, Hapalla and other countries<sup>28</sup> generally situates Assuwa and its allies in Western Anatolia.

The defeated Assuwa must have been a considerable power, as the capture of 600 chariot-crews and 10,000 infanterists after the battle is stated. After his return to the capital, the Hittite king is blamed for having stayed in Assuwa for too long, which caused some problems near the capital itself.<sup>29</sup>

Three Assuwan rulers are mentioned by name and two of them (SUM-KAL and Kukkullis, the latter being able to revolt later on) reoccur in a broken part of Tuthalijas' annals in which the plural

22. E. Forrer, *Reallexicon Assyriologie* 1/3 (1929), 227, not opposed by Sommer, *AU* 362, 370. See also H.T. Bossert, *Asia* (1946); Garstang/Gurney (op.cit., 107).

23. O. Carruba, *SMEA XVIII* (1977), 142.

24. A list of Hittite kings in the Empire-period is given in Appendix B below.

25. A number of Hittite texts was re-dated from the reigns of Tuthalijas IV and Arnuwandas III (end of the Empire-period) to those of Tuthalijas II and Arnuwandas I in the 1960's. Today few Hittitologists, notably A. Kammenhuber and S. Heinhold-Krahmer, doubt the correctness of this re-dating, that makes it necessary to reconsider historical reconstructions of the Empire-period such as Page's (op.cit., 97-112).

26. KUB XXIII 11 obv. II 13-39; duplicate KUB XXIII 12.

27. On this important country see especially S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa*, TdH 8, Heidelberg 1978.

28. KUB XXIII 11 obv. II 2-12.

29. KUB XXIII 11 rev. III 9-14; KUB XL 62 + XIII 9 I 1-10.

for king is mentioned,<sup>30</sup> probably referring to the Assuwians.

After Tuthalijas, however, Assuwa's role was over. The campaign is mentioned as a historical parallel<sup>31</sup> and this also applies to the mention of a king of Assuwa and a king of Ahhijawa in the badly broken KUB XXVI 91.<sup>32</sup> If F. Starke's translation "islands" for the non-Hittite *gur-sa-wa-ra* (obv. 6)<sup>33</sup> is correct, it is very likely that the letter in question was directed to the King of Ahhijawa. Any other King of equal rank to Hatti<sup>34</sup> interested in islands, which, due to the plural, are to be situated west or south-west of Anatolia, is hardly imaginable.

Although reconstructing a broken tablet is a risky matter, obv. 6-7 (citation from a letter sent by the addressee) seems to mean that the addressee doubts Hatti's claim on the islands. He argues that they were taken by force and (presumably) were not Hatti's at all, but once belonged to the King of Assuwa. The Hittite King replies that in the days of the great-grandfather (obv. 8) either Ahhijawa or Assuwa obstructed Hatti, but Tuthalijas (obv. 9) defeated Assuwa, thereby making a claim (at least *de jure*) on all Assuwa's possessions, including the islands.

This links the letter to Tuthalijas' Assuwa-campaign. Because of the uncertain period between Tuthalijas' son Arnuwandas and Suppiluliumas, three Hittite Kings are likely candidates to be his great-grandson and for all three interests in Western Anatolia have been attested:

A. Suppiluliumas. At the end of his reign he seems to have had some influence on Uhha-zitis, King of Arzawa, as he gave him the city of Puranda.<sup>35</sup> The relationship between Hatti and Arzawa deteriorated when Suppiluliumas supported the fugitive Mas-huiluwas, who was an opponent to Uhha-zitis.

B. Arnuwandas II (son of A). In his short reign he supported

30. KUB XXIII 18 obv. 7 (fragment).

31. KUB XXIII 14 II 9. Tuthalijas' Arzawa-campaigns were also well remembered; e.g. the existence of his camp on the border between Hatti and Mira (treaty between Mursilis II and Kupanta-KAL of Mira) and the friendly conduct of Wilusa when Tuthalijas was in Arzawa, probably on a later campaign (treaty between Muwatallis and Alaksandus of Wilusa).

32. A translation of this document, largely based upon Sommer's (AU 268-274), is offered in Appendix C below.

33. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* 95 (1981), 142-52.

34. This is indicated by "My Brother" in obv. 5.

35. KUB XIV 16 rev. III 26-27; translated by A. Goetze, *Die Annalen des Mursilis*, MVAG 38 (1933, reprinted 1967), 59 (hereafter AM).

Manapa-U, another opponent to Uhha-zitis, and had some influence on the "men of Karkisa" (see below).

C. Mursilis II (brother of B). Starting in the third year of his reign, he defeated all of Arzawa in a great campaign lasting two seasons. Uhha-zitis, who had fled from his capital Apasa, went to an island and died shortly afterwards.<sup>36</sup> One of his sons attempted to defend Puranda in the second year of the campaign, the other went *out of the sea* to the King of Ahhijawa.<sup>37</sup> The latter is not stated to have opposed the destruction of Puranda and Milawanda, cities that "went over to him"<sup>38</sup> when Uhha-zitis still reigned. He also allowed the Hittites to take away Uhha-zitis' son, who might have been useful to obstruct the *pax Hethitica* that Mursilis arranged for Arzawa.<sup>39</sup> This Ahhijawa-King therefore is showing a conduct differing from that of the King who proudly called upon the Stormgod in KUB XXVI 91, but he may have been influenced by Arzawa's rapid defeat.

At this point, the relation between Ahhijawa, Assuwa and Hatti may be investigated further by taking Greek epic material and archaeological material into account. The chronology and possible historicity of the siege described in the Iliad are beyond the scope of this article, but some light on the matter may be thrown by the political information contained in the two Catalogi in book II of the epic. The regions ruled by Greeks (II 484-759) generally coincide with the regions where LH IIIB 1-material was dominant. On the other hand, opponents (II 816-877) were situated in regions where this material was imported or imitated only.<sup>40</sup>

It therefore is an attractive hypothesis to use Homer's descrip-

36. KBo III 4 obv. II 30-32 (= AM 51); obv. II 52-54 (= AM 61).

37. KBo III 4 rev. III 1-5, reconstructed by Goetze, AM 67. This passage proves Ahhijawa not to be situated on any island, as otherwise Uhha-zitis' son would have remained in the sea, going from one island to another.

38. For Milawanda see KUB XIV 15 rev. I 23-26 (= AM 37-39). The two passages are broken, but Goetzes reconstruction is preferred by Güterbock, *op.cit.* (1983), 135, to those of Forrer and Sommer.

39. Mashuiluwas, Manapa-U and one other "Arzawa-man" were made vassal-kings directly after the campaign.

40. The exceptions to this general rule are few, notably a small region including Miletus, Iasos and the Müsgebi-graves in south-western Anatolia. For Greece, see R. Hope Simpson, *Mycenaean Greece*, New Jersey 1981. For Anatolia, see C.B. Mee, *Aegean Trade and Settlement in Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.*, AS 28 (1978) and figure 3 below. Regions, not fully controlled by Greeks before LH IIIB (see B. Feuer, *The Northern Mycenaean Border in Thessaly*, Oxford 1983) are included in the Greek Catalogue, but regions occupied by Greeks after LH IIIB (Epirus, Macedonia, Western Anatolia) are not.

tion of Western Anatolia to reconstruct its geography in Hittite times. The list of Ilion's southern-most allies, Maeonia-Caria-Lycia (II 864-877), can be compared to the list of Assuwa's allies, of which (L)ukka, Kar(a)kisa, Warsija and Wilus(ij)a reappear in texts dated after Tuthalijas II. These countries all reappear in the treaty concluded between Muwatallis and Alaksandus of Wilusa.<sup>41</sup> Although a short distance between these countries and Wilusa has been argued,<sup>42</sup> they might rather share a political status.<sup>43</sup>

In figures 1 & 2 below an outline of the geography of Western Anatolia is suggested for two periods. The strong Assuwa in the first period might have profited from the downfall of Cretan civilisation due to the Santorini-disaster (ca. 1440 B.C.). When conditions on Crete improved, Assuwa may have been challenged by the rising power of Mycenaean Greece, that presumably succeeded Cretan control of the Aegean islands from LH IIIA 1 (ca. 1400-1375 B.C.) onwards. After Assuwa's defeat by the Hittites, Arzawa seems to have extended westwards.<sup>44</sup>

### *Greek Epic Material*

In the Iliad, both Nestor and Idomeneus are among the principal heroes. Both are older than the other leaders.<sup>45</sup> Although they act together sometimes,<sup>46</sup> and although Idomeneus usually is accompanied by his fellow-Cretan Meriones, in the most relevant passage (XIII 383-401) Idomeneus is linked to Nestor's son, Antilochus.

In this passage Asius, son of Hyrtacus, is killed by Idomeneus, assisted by Antilochus, who carries off Asius' horses. These

41. Datable ca. 1300-1280 B.C. For a translation see J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache* II, Leipzig 1930, hereafter AL. The country of Masa is added to Lukka, Karkisa and Warsijalla, but not in all copies.

42. J.G. Macqueen, op.cit. (1968).

43. Before telling Alaksandus what to do in case of a war between Hatti and another major power (AL 69) and how to behave if a conflict arises in one of the Arzawa-Kingdoms equal in status to his own (AL 71f.), Muwatallis speaks of a possible campaign in "a country near to you" of still lower status (AL 67). In neither of these countries a king is attested, they seem to have been led by "nobles" or simply "men" only.

44. Lukka, Karkisa and Warsij(all)a are Assuwa's allies in ca. 1400 B.C., but independent in later times. The Seha-riverland and Hapalla seem to be independent from Arzawa in ca. 1400 B.C., but are at least influenced by it in later times.

45. Idomeneus: XIII 361.

46. E.g. II 405, VIII 78, X 53, XIX 311.

horses are of great importance to Asius, who hardly can be separated from them.<sup>47</sup> In XIII 560-585 Antilochus is attacked by Adamas, son of Asius, but the latter is killed by Meriones.<sup>48</sup>

As the Phaistos Disc relates of an *i-du-ma-na/i-tu-ma-na*, supervised by a *ni-is-ti/ná-as-tu* and probably opposing the interests of "the Assuwan Phaistos", the Iliad-passage seems to be a possible reflection of the Greek advance at Assuwa's costs in the 14th century B.C.<sup>49</sup>

### Conclusions

The text of the Phaistos Disc is too short to draw more than general historical conclusions, but it so far gives a coherent and logical view of relations between an overlord residing in (A)hiya-wa, represented by a functionary situated in Phaistos, and a more or less subjected Cretan population with an Anatolian background on account of its language. Its reference to *A-su-wi-ia* is not in disagreement with Hittite references to the Kingdom of Assuwa, acting as a major adversary in western Anatolia shortly before 1400 B.C.

### Appendix A: The Hittite Ahhijawa-texts

The mentions of Ahhija(wa) in Hittite texts have been published and commented as follows:

1. A number of texts from various periods, published by F. Sommer in 1932;<sup>50</sup>
2. The reading of (Ahhiu)wā in a passage in the annals of Muršiliš II by A. Goetze in 1933<sup>51</sup> (nr. 6);
3. Two texts, first treated by F. Schachermeyr in 1935<sup>52</sup> (nrs. 2 & 17);

47. In XII 110, when the Greek camp is attacked by the Trojans, he refuses to go on foot as the others do. The horses may recall Assuwa's large quantity of chariots above.

48. Meriones and Antilochus are captains of the guard in X 57-59. They are also linked in XIV 513; elsewhere Antilochus usually accompanies Menelaos.

49. Another possible reflection of this advance may be stored in the Bellerophon-tradition (Il. VI 155f.). Bellerophon, who is born on the Greek mainland, succeeds in gaining authority in the realm of the "King of Lycia". The tradition also confirms the unlikelihood of Greek settlement in Anatolia on a large scale before the end of the Bronze Age, as Bellerophon's descendants fight on the Trojan side, apparently having merged with the local population. In V 43 Idomeneus kills Phaistos, who does not reoccur in the Iliad.

50. Referred to as AU, above. Sommer's nrs. 3 & 6 have been left out, as they do not mention Ahhija(wa), but were included in reaction to Forrer.

51. AM 59.

52. *Hethiter und Achäer*, MAOG 9, 1-2 (Leipzig).



4. Two further texts, published by H.G. Güterbock in 1936<sup>53</sup> (nrs. 12 & 22);

5. A collection of the various writings of Ahhija(wa), published by G.F. del Monte and J. Tischler in 1978.<sup>54</sup>

The scheme below pretends to be a historical survey only. Special attention has been given to references to the title of the ruler of Ahhija(wa), its relation towards the Hittites and the mention of ships or a sea. The chapters of Sommers survey have been indicated as 'So'; the texts mentioned in the historical survey of J.T. Hooker<sup>55</sup> have been indicated as 'Ho'.

<i>nr</i>	<i>So</i>	<i>Ho</i>	<i>Sort of text</i>	<i>App. date</i>	<i>ships</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>status</i>	<i>relation</i>
1	19	16	Edictment	1400-1380	sea <sup>a</sup>	LÜ	kuriwanas <sup>b</sup>	hostile (battle)
2	-	-	Oracle	1400-1380	-	LÜ	?	possible enemy
3	9	6	Letter	1340-1315	sea	LUGAL	indep. <sup>c</sup>	conflict
4	14	10	Annals	ca. 1320	-	LUGAL	indep.	conflict(?)
5	15	11	Annals	ca. 1318	ships	LUGAL	indep.	friendly
6	-	-	Annals	ca. 1318	sea	LUGAL	indep.	conflict
7	13	9	Fragment	after 1313	-	-	place of banishment	friendly
8	10	7	Culttext	bef. 1300	-	-	-	friendly
9	2	2	Fragment	ca. 1280	ships	- <sup>d</sup>	- <sup>c</sup>	unknown
10	1	1	Letter	ca. 1280	ships	LUGAL.GAL	indep. <sup>c</sup>	conflicts (to be resolved)
11	12	8	Fragment	ca. 1280	-	-	-	unknown
12	-	18	Fragment	aft. 1265	-	LUGAL	indep.	friendly
13	16	13	Fragment	aft. 1265	-	LUGAL	indep.	conflict
14	17	14	Treaty	aft. 1240	ships	LUGAL.GAL <sup>e</sup>	indep.	unfriendly
15	4	4	Letter	unknown	-	LUGAL	unknown	friendly
16	18	15	List of nations	aft. 1280	-	-	unknown	unknown
17	-	-	Annals(?)	aft. 1280	-	-	unknown	unknown
18	5	-	Fragment	aft. 1318	-	-	unknown	unknown
19	7	-	Fragment	?	-	-	unknown	unknown
20	8	-	Fragment	?	-	LUGAL <sup>f</sup>	indep. <sup>c</sup>	unknown
21	11	-	Oracle	?	-	LUGAL	unknown	possibly hostile
22	-	-	Fragment	?	-	-	unknown	unknown

a. As reconstructed from raids made on Alasija, probably Cyprus.

b. Interpreted as "independent" (AU), rather than "vassal" (AM).

c. The addressee is specifically addressed as "My Brother", placing him on equal rank with the Hittite king.

d. The fragment was interpreted by Forrer (op.cit., 1926, 207) as belonging to a letter to the king of Ahhijawa, as it mentions a physical brother to a "My Brother", for which only nr. 10 offers a parallel.

e. The title has been erased.

f. Reconstructed by Sommer, AU 266.

53. *Neue Ahhijawa-texte*, ZfA 9 (1936), 321-7.

54. *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, RGTC 6, Wiesbaden 1978.

55. Op.cit., 121/131.

As a provisional conclusion, the country of Ahhijawa may have been situated near or on the Anatolian southern or southwestern coast.

A situation of Ahhijawa in Anatolia from Mursilis' times onwards is almost excluded on account of the mention of the king of Ahhijawa as "Greatking" in nr. 10, however. Nr. 3 stresses the likeliness of the existence of a ruler of sufficient importance to be addressed as "My Brother" in the west as well, but such a ruler, periodically showing hostility towards Hatti, could not have remained independent for a period as long as the tablets suggest. As Hittite influence in western Anatolia is indicated by a row of rock-sculptures, extending as far west as Smyrna (KA 54, 177) and because of nr. 5, denying Ahhijawa to be situated on any island, we should at least accept the possibility of searching for it still further west, i.e. on the mainland of Greece.

#### *Appendix B: Hittite King-list ca. 1400-1190 B.C.*

		<i>relation to previous king</i>
Tuthalijas II*	before 1400	?
Arnuwandas I	1400-1380	son
"Dynastic troubles"***	1380-1360	
Suppiluliumas I	1360-1325	?
Arnuwandas II	1325-1322	son
Mursilis II	1322-1300	brother
Muwatallis	1300-1272	son
Urhi-Tesup	1272-1265	son
Hattusilis III	1265-1240	uncle
Tuthalijas IV	1240-1215	son
Arnuwandas II	1215-1205	son
Suppiluliumas II	1205-1190	brother

\* The numbering is traditional, but the existence of a Tuthalijas I is debated. See Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *Records of the early Hittite Empire*, Istanbul 1970.

\*\*Suppiluliumas' father was named Tuthalijas, but it is not likely he was the same as Tuthalijas II. Many suggestions have been made to fill the gap referred to as "dynastic troubles", see O.R. Gurney, *The anointment of Tuthalija*, in *Studi Mediterranei* (Piero Meriggi dedicata), Pavia 1979, 213-223, with earlier literature.

A. Translation of obverse

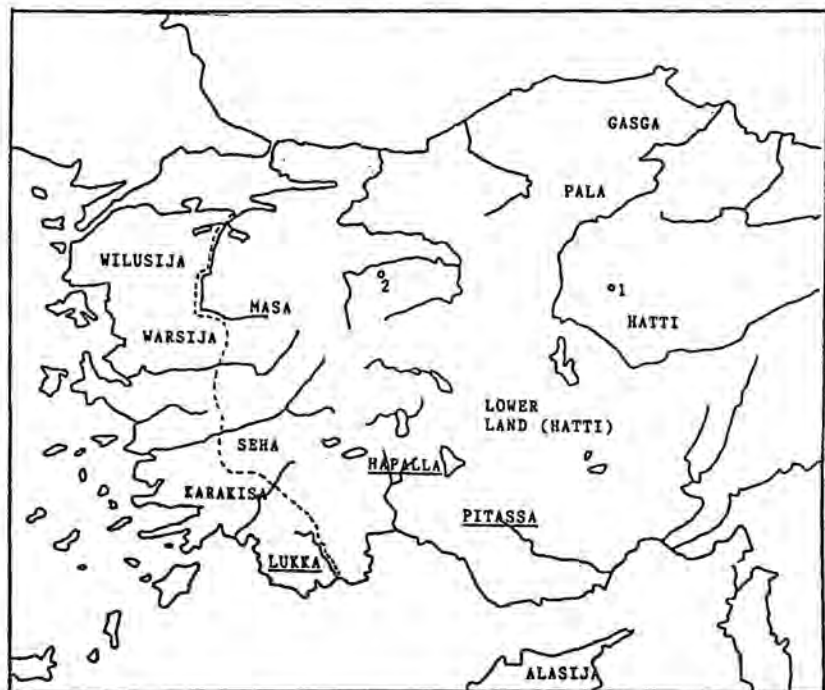
1. [.....] Lo[r]d of the [co]untry of Ahhijaw[a .....
2. [.....]
3. [.....] war amidst [.....]
4. [.....] happened; now the dead (?) [.....]
5. In the [..]th year My Brother [has] written to me [ .....
6. "Your islands (?) which [.....]
7. "The Stormgod brought them into my power. The King of As [..]
8. [..]kagamunas. [my/your] great-grandfather [ .....
9. He obstructed. Now Tut[hali]jas .....
10. And subjected him. Now [ .....
11. I have written about [that]. [ .....
12. And (of?) the King of the country of Ahhij[awa .....
13. Formerly however [.....]
14. The King of the country of Assuw[a .....

Lines 15-20 are too fragmentary, as is the reverse.

B. Interpretation

1. Possibly "ruler" (LÚ) instead of Lord (ÉN) (Sommer).
4. Possibly "the (noun) of the dead".
5. According to Sommer, the number is not 1st or 2nd.
6. For the "islands" see F. Starke, *op.cit.*, note 33.
8. [..]kagamunas is not a personal name.

Fig. 1 Suggested political situation in Western Anatolia ca. 1400 B.C.



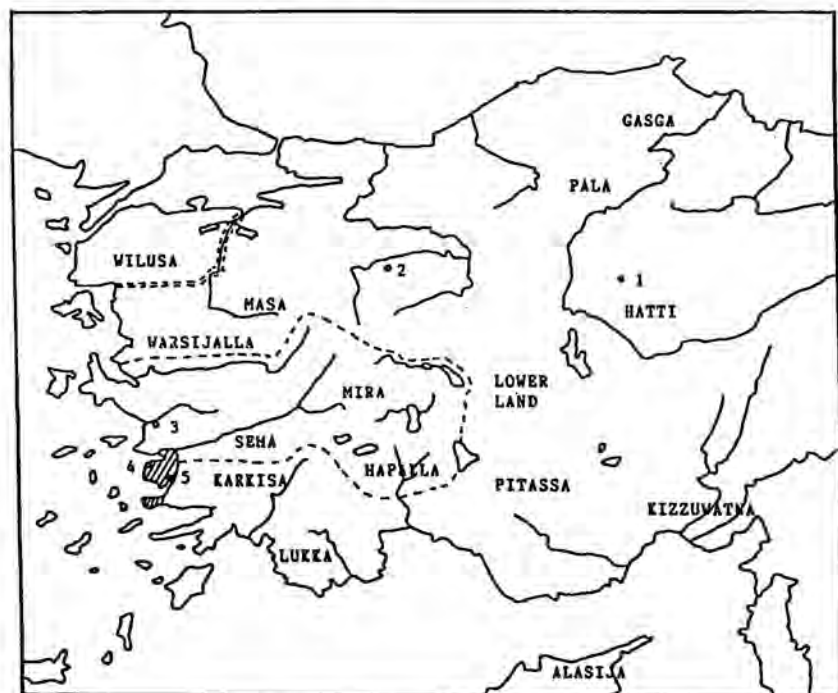
--- Approximate boundary of Assuwa before 1400 B.C.

MASA Countries referred to in Hittite texts ca. 1400 B.C. (underlined: attacked by Madduwattas)

*Cities mentioned*

1. Hattusas
2. Sallapa

Fig. 2 Suggested political situation in Western Anatolia ca. 1280 B.C.

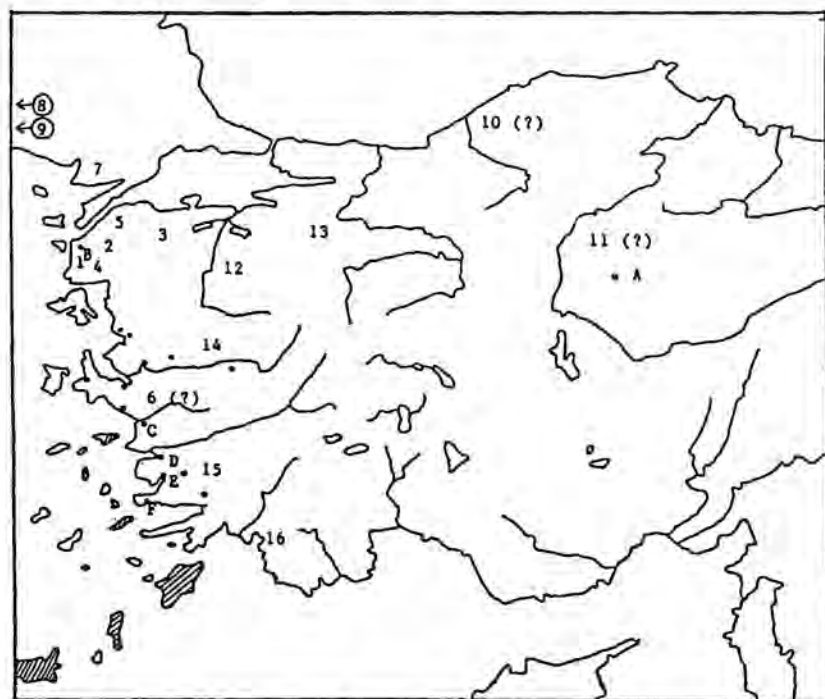


- - - Approximate boundaries of Arzawa-territory before conquest by Mursilis II (ca. 1318 B.C.)
- == = "Arzawa-land" added by Muwatallis (ca. 1280 B.C.)
- /// Territory dominated by Ahhijawa (ca. 1200 B.C.)

*Cities mentioned*

1. Hattusas
2. Sallapa
3. Apasa
4. Milawanda (Miletus)
5. Iasos

Fig. 3 Greek background to Hittite History



• Mycenaean imports in Western Anatolia, LH IIB/IIIB1\*

/// Areas of Mycenaean settlement

*Trojan Allies in the Iliad*

- |                           |                   |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Trojans                | 9. Paeonians      |
| 2. Dardanians             | 10. Paphlagonians |
| 3. Zeleians               | 11. Halizones     |
| 4. Adrasteians            | 12. Mysians       |
| 5. People following Asius | 13. Phrygians     |
| 6. Pelasgians             | 14. Maeonians     |
| 7. Thracians              | 15. Carians       |
| 8. Ciconians              | 16. Lycians       |

*Important sites*

- A. Boghazköy
- B. Hissarlik
- C. Ephese
- D. Miletus
- E. Iasos
- F. Müsgebi

\*According to R. Hope Simpson, *Mycenaean Greece* (1981), 205-210.